Roosevelt Reform

SOCIAL PROGRESS

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As We Look at the World
Unemployment—Our Problem
Cultural Blackout

SEPTEMBER 1940

Table of Contents

Page

Articles

As We Look at the World, *by Cameron P. Hall* 1
Unemployment—Our Problem, *A Symposium* 4
Consumers Unite, *by Ralph M. Felix* 8
Cultural Blackout, *by Raymond Fosdick* 10
Consider the Right to Drink, *by Charles B. Swartz* 13

Editorial Comment

For Times Like These 16

Significant Statements

Findings of Interfaith Labor Conference 18
The Church and Political Tension 19

Sanctuary

Brotherhood Prayers, *prepared by Edwin C. Daniels* 20

About Books

Reviews of Current Books 22

Departments

Facts and Figures 26
Current Films 29
We the Readers 30
The Church Speaks on Social Issues, *A Discussion Guide* 31
Book Index, Vol. XXX 33

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SOCIAL PROGRESS

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As We Look at the World

Cameron P. Hall *

AS WE Look Out Upon the World for Which Christ Died, there are four great areas of life that call for the outreach of the Christian church. One area is the soul of the individual—the need for every man to be won to God in Christ. The response of the church to this basic need we know as evangelism. Another great area is each new generation of men to whom the church must make Christ intimate, meaningful and compelling. This outreach of the church we know as Christian education. Again, whole peoples, nations and communities constitute the Macedonias into which the church must cross and serve. This outreach in terms of geography is the missionary response of the church.

But a fourth outreach needs to be mentioned if we are to compass the total program of the church. The barriers we raise between ourselves and those of another race or of another social status, the practices which we tolerate in our communities that feed upon the weaknesses of character, the organized hatred that makes the world of nations into what Dr. Luman J. Shafer has called "a spiritual enemyhood"—these stamp our corporate living as being far from the Kingdom of God and hence in need of the redeeming power of Christ. The response of the church to the collective life of mankind we know as *social education and action.*

No one of these four services can say to the other, "I have no need of thee." Each needs the others by way both of foundation and of completion. One of the great concerns which is at the heart of all social education and action is peace. And

* Director, Department of Social Education and Action, Board of Christian Education. An address delivered before the General Assembly, May 1940.

where among all the agencies for peace the world around is there a greater one than foreign missions!

A generation grounded and established in the Christian faith is, of course, the hope for any forward movement in our corporate living, but both evangelism and Christian education of necessity depend upon the extent to which the church has brought the people and their government under the rule of Christian principles. The impact of the *church of today* on the ideals and practices of a people determines the circumstances under which the *church of tomorrow* must do its work. One of the first casualties of the church's failure to mold the nation's conscience is the *freedom to continue to try to mold that conscience.* I am not suggesting that social education and action is preeminent among the tasks of the church. I am saying that social education and action belongs integrally at the heart of the total program of the church.

It is plain that within recent decades we have discovered society. Through bitterness and through joy we have learned that no community and no locality is unaffected by what goes on within another community and locality; and so on even between nations. I spoke recently before a junior high school; I asked the teacher who had charge of the assembly what he taught. "Social science" he said. Just so! And when we compare what we were taught in our public schools as "civics" with what is being taught today as "social sciences," we see how far our discovery of society has gone.

As I left that junior high school, I could not help but wonder—and hope—if the churches were helping these youngsters to discover society from the perspective of the Kingdom of God. Certainly the ablest social scientists, in the deepest sense of that word, are those early prophets who spoke the word of the Living God on the purpose and meaning of corporate living. I would hope that those boys and girls might know Elijah, whose encounter with Ahab still rings with its great affirmation on behalf of the little man in society; and Amos who spoke in the name of the God of eternal justice against the economic abuses of his day; that they might be helped to see our warring world as Isaiah tried to help his own king to look out upon the warring world of his time; that they might see other races as did Paul, in whom the spirit of the Living Christ shattered the hard shell of racial pride and arrogance. And supremely I would hope that these youngsters—and all of us—are being led to build ourselves into the corporate life of men as did Jesus, who, though without sin himself, submitted himself unto the baptism of repentance on behalf of the sins of his people and nation; and the opening words of whose

ministry point us not to ourselves nor to our own race or nation, but to the Kingdom of God.

There is particular urgency that social education and action be undertaken now with alertness and vigor. We are re-examining our armaments, our defenses against subversive groups, and the "Fifth Column." There is perhaps a more fundamental need for us to be warned against what we may call "*The Sixth Column*"—those spiritual and moral forces within our own hearts and in our social institutions, that cut into and destroy character.

In a recent cartoon, Uncle Sam was shown standing before his home with an anti-aircraft gun poised in his arms, his eyes sweeping the skies. His back was toward the house, in whose cellar were shown rats, gnawing at its foundations; and these rats were labelled "crime," "greed," "prejudice," "poverty," and similarly. These are they of the *Sixth Column*, against which neither armaments nor agents can prevail, but only an informed, aroused, and consecrated Christian conscience.

There are times when someone gives his assent to social education but raises a doubt about social action. But is not the meaning of the Incarnation that there can be no education that is not joined to action. "The Word became flesh." The plight of the world today is that the *wrong words have become flesh*. The word "war" has indeed become flesh today, to the world's undoing! The word "intemperance" has become flesh in homes and upon drivers' seats of automobiles to the cursing of countless lives. The word "racial prejudice" has become flesh in our communities, so that our Negro and Jewish brethren suffer social and cultural deprivations. The trouble with our world is that we are using the right vocabulary only in preaching and speaking and discussing, and are not making it into a *living* vocabulary. The sons of light must be wiser by far than the sons of darkness, who live out the language of their darkness.

We who follow him who is the Word become flesh, must not only study and talk, but act so that our community life and our national life will speak the language of his life. The word "peace" must become flesh, in our social institutions and laws. The word "brotherhood" must become flesh in our business practices and in our community relationships. The word "respect for personality" must become flesh in the ways we deal with juvenile delinquents and criminals. The very urgency for the building into our modes and laws, our institutions, and social order these *life-giving, society-building words*, gives urgency and direction to the need for social education and action.

Unemployment—Our Problem

A Symposium

The Interfaith Conference on Unemployment whose findings appear on page 18 considered with determined realism the unemployment problem in its relation to the national defense program. We present herewith condensations of four addresses typical of the practical nature of the issues discussed and of the conference approach to their solution.—THE EDITOR.

Democracy and Unemployment

The picture both within and without our country has changed drastically since those comparatively calm days when we originally discussed this program. We must realize that there is a danger to the maintenance of democratic freedom far more imminent than anything we imagined a few brief months ago.

From the White House and from the halls of Congress we have heard with much gratification voices proclaiming that in this program of militaristic preparedness, we must be careful to preserve the social benefits which have been gained during the past few years. It is good to have our leaders speak in this way. We must remind them, however, that they do not go quite far enough. They have the duty not only to talk of preserving social benefits but to point out to the people of our democracy the danger of accepting any illusions that a war economics and a democracy can ever form a permanent partnership; that in a modern mass production society, militarism is the unalterable and ultimately victorious foe over democracy.

The leaders of our democracy have also an obligation in the present crisis in maintaining democratic procedures amid all the hysteria of the "fifth column." Our people must realize that democracy cannot live without confidence—the confidence of an individual in himself and in his neighbor. We must realize that the "fifth column" does its job far more effectively by destroying that basic confidence within a democracy than by blowing up ammunition factories, planting machine guns in public buildings or welcoming parachute invaders. Democratic procedure in solving the problem of unemployment can come only through the honest interchange of thought and action.

The truth on which this entire conference is based still stands preeminent; namely, that no more than the nation could endure half free and half slave some three quarters of a century ago, can our de-

mocracy of today endure with millions held in the fetters of that far greater slavery of joblessness. Our fathers—physical pioneers—blazed the trail in an uncharted wilderness. We today wander in an uncharted wilderness; trail blazers, but in an even more difficult forest. There are no charted paths. There is only the courage of free men for a long and trying journey. It is the only course that true civilization can tread. Yet the reward will be the glories of a richer material life and a finer spiritual faith than mankind has ever known.—*Edward L. Israel, chairman, Social Justice Commission, Central Conference of American Rabbis, Baltimore, Md.*

Jobs for the Jobless?

At present about 34,000,000 people are employed in nonagricultural work. The average number so employed in 1929 was somewhat more than 36,000,000. Agricultural employment is no greater than in 1929. On the other hand, the working population has increased from 48 to 49 million in 1929 to some 54 to 55 million at present.

A few weeks ago it seemed reasonably possible to make certain predictions with reference to occupational opportunities. The gains since 1932, marked though they have been by decided set-back, have been real. Between the low point of 1933 and of 1938 employment increased on the average about half a million a year more than the working population increased. In some years the number at work increased by about two million. Downswings wiped out only part of these gains.

Today, however, I know little of what is going to happen to employment. Your guess is quite as good as mine as to whether the war export market will last through the year. The American defense program will have a more certain effect this year. Armaments are going to result, however, in a concentration of employment in areas that are already operating at high levels: airplanes, machine tools, shipbuilding. There will even be some difficulty in securing workers, whereas in the construction field there still are unemployed men and resources.

We must not allow ourselves to forget that the shortages of skilled labor which may develop will be very specific. The lines at factory gates will be shortened as the defense program takes hold, but long before the unemployed are all absorbed there will be a continuous and overpowering chorus of those who are hunting for skilled men who require years of training.

No matter how urgent our demand for labor may become, we cannot afford to ignore the problems of present and potential unemployment.—*A. F. Hinrichs, Chief Economist, United States Bureau of Labor Statistics.*

A Labor Program

American labor and management, in facing the problem of unemployment, are confronting the most difficult and the most responsible task of this generation. On the ability of the American people to end unemployment depends the future course of our nation and the very survival of our democratic institutions. National defense means not only the defense of lives, homes, communities, and resources, but also the defense of their democratic institutions, of government by consent, and the defense of our fundamental rights inherited and established as a living democracy, the American way of life.

The desire of those unemployed to find work and to earn decent living in private industry is as genuine as the distress of uemployment and anguish of insecurity suffered by them and their families. I propose the following seven point program to end idleness of workers, machines and capital:

1. A long-range program of permanent public works, which could be expanded and curtailed to offset fluctuations in private construction activity. . . .

2. Continuation and expansion of slum-clearance and low-rent housing program, administered by the United States Housing Authority, and utilization of this program for construction of industrial housing necessitated by defense production. . . .

3. A program of federal insurance of long-term loans made by private lending institutions for productive expansion. . . .

4. Maintenance of the minimum wage and maximum hour standards to insure full measure of reemployment and increase real purchasing power to those who work. . . .

5. A national program of vocational and apprentice training. . . .

6. Enlargement and improvement of job placement facilities of the United States Employment Service. . . .

7. Full measure of relief to unemployed workers and their families. . . .

It is of foremost importance that national recognition be given today to the simple fact that a temporary spurt in employment called forth by munitions production not only fails to solve the unemployment problem but will only aggravate the task of readjustment which the nation will face when the emergency is over.—*George Meany, secretary-treasurer, American Federation of Labor.*

There Is a Solution

There is, I believe, a solution for unemployment. Whether there can be a solution in fact depends on many forces. The solution seems to me to be for the people's own freely created and self-governing economic organizations to sit down together, by industries and in a general economic congress, and with governmental help work out and enforce those rules of economic decency and prosperity.

At the risk of arousing prejudices, let me say that this is an NRA with major differences: The unions

would be in the code authorities. The organizations of an industry would make up the code authority. The code authorities would head up directly in a congress of industries, farming included, and not directly in the government; the government would stand in the second line of action and defense. The federal government would deal only with industries that come under the new interpretation of interstate commerce. And the distinct interest of consumers would be represented, for example, through consumers' cooperative counsels.

It seems to me this arrangement should work moderately well. It relies on the people inside economic life, who know it best, to live up part way to their function. It knows that owners are interested most in profits and that workers are interested most in steady work and so it insists that workers be in on all policy making. It accepts the fact that one industry buys from the other and it recognizes that in a congress of industries a check can be put on the depredations of any one industry. It knows that government has a sanctioning power which is needed to make good decisions enforceable and to change bad decisions when necessary. It recognizes, too, that while an organized democracy in economic life ought to work for the general welfare, government is created for that special purpose.

I doubt if any such proposal as this would either be made or accepted now during these months of the political campaign. Yet I should like even at this stage of things to urge that following the election and inauguration of a president, the administration call a conference, or conferences, of organized employers, organized labor and organized farmers, along with public and consumer representatives, to work out the form and functions of the first stages of a self-organized, self-governing economic democracy in the United States.

This conference might approach the matter from the standpoint of the expansion of production or of adjusting prices. They might use the framework of the Industry Boards, provided in the Wages-Hours Act, and expand these functions. They might decide to merge a whole coordinated program with the preparedness program or with the Walsh-Healy Act. They might well demand a new system of investment banking to channel savings into new investments at lower rates of interest and of profits than people expect. These are matters of tactics to be decided best by those in government and the economic organizations in the circumstances existing at the time of any decision. Whichever is moderately good and helpful ought to be acted on.—*R. A. McGowan, assistant director, Social Action Department, National Catholic Welfare Conference.*

Consumers Unite

By Ralph M. Felix *

IN DECEMBER 1935 a small group of ministers attending the Kagawa meetings in Indianapolis decided to follow the suggestion of the General Assembly of 1939, "that church groups should make careful and unprejudiced study of the [co-operative] movement." They organized a study fellowship with meetings every two weeks to which others were invited from time to time; and so the interest grew.

After a period of study the group decided to experiment with a Consumers' Cooperative. Samples of groceries and canned goods were ordered from the "Central States Cooperative Wholesale" in Chicago, and similar products were purchased from the national chain stores. A "tasting party" was arranged to make comparisons and almost invariably the vote was given to the Co-op brands.

As a result of this first satisfying experiment, a Buying Club was formed. At each meeting the study group pooled their orders for groceries to be delivered at the next meeting at current retail prices. Soon there was a demand for groceries in stock and money, the first capital stock of the "Consumer-Owned Grocery Store," was loaned for this purpose. Gradually stock increased and members came weekly to make their purchases. By the end of the first year a six per cent "patronage refund" was declared. It was agreed that this dividend, paid each member on the basis of his total purchases, would be invested in capital stock of the Consumer-Owned Grocery Store, thus materially expanding its resources. One man from the laboring group, an elder in his own church, cheerfully remarked, "I've been buying groceries for many years for my large family, but this is the first time I have ever received any money back." He had discovered for himself one of the basic principles of the Cooperative Movement, that through cooperation more purchasing power is given to the consumer; that this in turn creates a greater demand for goods and that in time greater demand creates more jobs.

All this time community education continued. Membership meetings were held in several of the churches of the city. Outside speakers were invited. The Roman Catholic church opened its building for a meeting. The motion picture "The Lord Helps Those" was shown, giving a graphic picture of the co-operative development in Nova Scotia, a priest from another parish

* Minister, Olivet Presbyterian Church, New Castle, Indiana.

who had made the itinerary to Nova Scotia spoke and then the meeting was turned over to the local group.

Finally a cooperative store was opened in the front room of the manager's home. One night each week became and still is called "Co-op Night." New families come to the store and are introduced; discuss the underlying principles and purpose of cooperation and later enjoy refreshments from the "Co-op" shelves. Here they find that the cooperative movement actually works.

As the cooperative project developed, interest increased. Attendance at the meetings now includes the families of several Christian factory executives, members of labor unions flashing their C.I.O. buttons, a few Negroes, educators, several ministers, the Catholic priest and several members from that church, a director of religious education, business men, the wife of the president of one of the factories, and widows of ministers. All are regular cooperators and all share in the discussion of the philosophy of cooperation. Business meetings are opened with prayer and a real Christian fellowship exists.

At the close of the second year, a second patronage refund was declared to the members of the cooperative store; this time ten per cent. This was of course unusually high. As yet there is still no full-time salaried manager, members taking their turn in working at the Co-op store—*their store.* Everything is done on a cash basis. As capital stock increases, new store equipment is bought; capital stock bears four per cent interest; dividends are also received from the Co-operative Wholesale, in which these members, too, have a share. There is no indebtedness and the whole experiment seems to be working on a practical, sound business basis.

This experiment is *democracy in action.* Each member has the privilege of one vote at all business meetings at which policy is determined. Every member is encouraged to share in the preceding discussions, but when decisions are made, each is entitled to only one vote, the number of shares owned by the individual members in no way modifying this basic principle.

The experiment has proved to be a practical experience in Christian living also. In Consumers Cooperation there is no class or race consciousness. Personality is respected regardless of race or class. The spirit of "all for each and each for all" prevails. It breaks down religious barriers. It is a practical demonstration in economics of a philosophy of living, which is akin to the principles our Lord taught when he asked his disciples to pray: "Thy kingdom come: they will be done on earth as it is in heaven."

Cultural Blackout

By Raymond Fosdick *

IN SPITE of many unfortunate exceptions, there seems to be at least some effort in influential circles in Europe to insulate important scientific research work from the shock of war and to allow the laboratory men to continue with their tasks. Of the 240 enlisted students of the École Normale Supérieure in Paris, an institution which supplies the French universities with professors, 120 were killed. Among the graduates of this school, 560 who were already professors in the universities were mobilized: 119 were killed. This memory is still fresh in scientific circles in England, France, and elsewhere, and efforts are being made, with the help of governments, to prevent in this war, as far as possible, the recurrence of such ghastly sacrifice.

But an attempt to keep scientific workers at their tasks, laudable as its motive is, meets but a small portion of the problem. At best it can salvage for the future only those whose promise is already indicated. Nowhere is there occult imagination to detect in a humble patent examiner a future Einstein, or to see in a tanner's son a Louis Pasteur. Darwin at 20 showed no particular promise in his studies; but he had courage and spirit and would have made excellent material for the front-line trenches. No human precaution can protect a nation from the sacrifices which war levies upon future talent—the undiscovered scientists, the gifted minds, the intellectual and spiritual leaders upon whom each generation must build the hope and promise of the generation to come. The mortgage which war places upon the economic resources of a country is as nothing compared with the mortgage levied upon its future intellectual and cultural life.

In the war that is now being carried on in Europe the sacrifices and the processes of disintegration have already begun. We can see now something of the extent of the disaster. The University of Warsaw has ceased to exist. Scarcely a year ago, the Moors, entrenched in the ruined University of Madrid, used the books from the University library as defenses in their rifle pits. The University of Prague has been shut by the German government. For reasons of economy and because their students are in military service, more than half the universities of Germany are closed. The 20,000 student population of the University of Paris has shrunk to

* President of the Rockefeller Foundation. From the Foundation's Annual Report, 1939. Quoted with permission.

5,000. On both sides of the fighting lines, laboratories hitherto devoted to the extension of knowledge, both in medicine and in the natural sciences, are being geared into the war machine. As a prominent governmental official on the continent recently said: "Science can now have but one object: to help win the war."

Perhaps the most frightening aspect of modern war is the intellectual blackout which it creates. One does not have to subscribe to H. G. Wells' grim prophecy that "mankind, which began in a cave and behind a windbreak, will end in the disease-soaked ruins of a slum"; but certainly the night in Europe cannot be long continued without the sacrifice of cultural values on so vast a scale that the chance of an enlightened and gracious life, not alone for this generation in Europe, but for the children and grandchildren of this generation, will be irretrievably lost.

One occasionaly hears the statement that the trend of intellectual leadership is westward across the Atlantic. In proof of the assertion specific fields are mentioned, such as neurosurgery, astronomy, dentistry, and perhaps orthopedics, in which America has won preeminent standing. But this argument overlooks the many fields in which leadership, certainly until the war began, was still in Europe and the many others in which genius and stimulation are as potent on one side of the ocean as on the other. In fields like pharmacology, tropical medicine, ophthalmology, legal medicine, social medicine and dermatology—to mention only a few—leadership is unquestionably still in Europe, or was in 1939. In mathematics, the English are indisputably preeminent in analytic number theory; the Russians are making important contributions in topology and probably, the French in algebra. America cannot match the group of European scientists in the important fields of enzyme chemistry and the organic chemistry of natural products. Nowhere else in the world can one duplicate or even approach the coordinated and cooperating Scandinavian group which is focusing so many precise techniques of chemistry and physics on problems of biology.

America needs to be humble about this question of intellectual leadership. In spite of the anxiety and insecurity abroad during these recent years, of the six Nobel prizes awarded in science in 1939, five went to Europe and one to the United States. In countless ways we are dependent upon Europe for stimulation and leadership in relation to many segments of our intellectual and cultural activity.

If because of war-exhaustion or chaos the universities and laboratories of Europe should be forced to suspend their fundamental activ-

ities for even half a decade, the consequences to the intellectual life of America would be immediate and disastrous. For scientific growth is almost invariably the result of cross-fertilization between laboratories and groups in widely separated parts of the world. Only rarely does one man or one group of men recite with clear, loud tones a whole important chapter, or even a whole important paragraph, in the epic of science. Much more often the start comes from some isolated and perhaps timid voice, making an inspired suggestion, raising a stimulating question. This first whisper echoes about the world of science, the reverberation from each laboratory purifying and strengthening the message, until presently the voice of science is decisive and authoritative.

Then the amazing development and application of sulfanilamide—that beneficent gift to mankind—has been the result of a collaboration in which flags and boundary lines have been non-existent. The first hint of it was discovered in Germany, oddly enough in connection with the commercial dye industry, and the drug was given the name prontosil. With this hint as a basis, in 1935 a German scientist—Dr. Gerhard Domagk—published the results of his experiments with mice under carefully controlled laboratory conditions, showing the extraordinary effect of prontosil on streptococcus. The Pasteur Institute in Paris then picked the matter up, and subjecting prontosil to organic analysis discovered that its activity was localized in one distinctive part of its molecular structure. This potent factor in prontosil, separated from the rest of the molecule, is what we now know as sulfanilamide. At this point Queen Charlotte's Hospital in London, with a grant from The Rockefeller Foundation, tried the drug on women suffering from streptococcal infection associated with puerperal or childbirth fever, immediately reducing the death rate from such infections by 25 per cent. The Johns Hopkins School of Medicine was the next institution to carry forward the experiments, and in the last three years research on this drug has been developed, with brilliant results, in laboratories and hospitals on both sides of the Atlantic.

Achievement in science, more often than not, is the result of the sustained thinking of many minds in many countries driving toward a common goal. The fundamental unity of modern civilization is the unity of its intellectual life, and that life cannot without disaster be broken up into separate parts. If, as a result of the present cataclysm on the other side of the Atlantic, Europe freezes into an Arctic night, we shall not easily keep the fires lit in the universities and laboratories of America.

Consider the Right to Drink

By Charles B. Swartz *

ONE of the most serious perils to modern civilization is the increasing use of narcotics. Recently we have been informed of the frightful effects of marijuana and of the many predatory vultures in human form seeking to make our school children its victims by the sale of "reefers," marijuana cigarettes and other drugs. But there is another narcotic, far more dangerous and devastating about which we are amazingly indifferent. That narcotic is alcohol, done up in attractive colors and dispensed far and wide through beer, wines, and hard liquors entrenched behind centuries of use, and upheld by social approbation.

Dr. Haven Emerson has pointed out that in this country "alcohol is one of the few causes of illness and death which continue to rise in populous parts of the United States"; and Dr. W. J. Mayo has estimated that three out of ten drinkers become addicts; not drunkards, but steady drinkers.

What should be the Christian approach to such a problem? I submit that you will find it in the words of Paul to the Romans and the Corinthians (Romans 14 and I Cor. 8). He pointed out that we must permit within the church a great deal of freedom of judgment and variation of conduct. We are responsible finally to God alone. But he went on to say that it is not enough for us to feel we may pursue a course without harm to ourselves, we must also consider the effect of our actions on others. "You must not by what you eat (or drink), ruin a man for whom Christ died. . . . It is good not to eat meat nor to drink wine nor to do anything by which your brother will be tripped up."

It may be true—though persistent research makes it increasingly doubtful—that many people may never be harmed at all by moderate drinking. You may be among them. Nevertheless, from the Christian standpoint, your personal ability to take it or leave it alone is beside the point.

"Have you ever known a—

Man to lose his job because he drank too little?

Doctor to advise his patient, "Your chances would be better if you had been a drinker?

Employer seeking a man for a responsible place to say, "Give me a drinker every time?

* Minister, First Presbyterian Church, Bloomington, Indiana. Condensed from a sermon preached on January 21, 1940.

Wife to explain, "My husband would be the best in the world if he would drink more?

Husband to say his wife would be a better mother to the children if she spent more time at the cocktail bar?

Defendant in a court to seek acquittal with the plea, "If I had been drunk I would never have done it?"

Insurance company to offer reduced premiums to drinkers?

Value of a business or home to rise when a tavern is opened next door?

Community that listed its saloons, taverns and bottle stores, among its advertising assets?

Chief of police who advocated more liquor-selling places as a means of reducing crime?

*IF NOT, WHY NOT?"**

You know the answer, and society pays a tremendous price for the freedom of the few to indulge in a totally unnecessary habit.

The social indictment against alcohol and the liquor traffic is so stupendous that it is quite impossible even to review it in an article like this. Alcohol is shown to be a major cause of drunkenness, of prostitution, of murder, of crime, of insanity, of poverty, of broken homes and neglected children, of drug addiction, and of political corruption. These indices to our social order seem to insist on fluctuating in a strange synchronization with the success of the liquor traffic in pushing its sales. One can dive anywhere into the sordid mess and find evidence, not hearsay nor snap judgment, to show that conditions are on the whole worse since repeal.

There is vastly more drunkenness. In 1932 the last year of prohibition, which was not the year of least drinking, arrests for drunkenness were 831 per 100,000 of our population. In 1936 there were 1,665 or double that number.

There is vastly more dangerous drinking. That is partly due to the fact that under modern conditions a little liquor may be much more socially menacing than a good deal more liquor forty years ago. In the manual of the Chicago Park District Police is this statement: "The drunken driver is a type of offender far more dangerous than an outlaw allowed to run loose with a gun."

Even more dangerous is the drinking driver for as Dr. Haven Emerson declares, one bottle of beer or one cocktail is enough to deaden a driver's skill perceptibly. Judge Harry H. Porter, of Evanston, chairman of the test committee of the National Safety Council, says that 60 per cent of serious traffic accidents are caused by liquor and Dr. Thomas A. Gonzales, chief medical

* *The International Student*, Washington, November, 1939.

examiner, in New York City, says that 40 per cent of automobile fatalities were due to liquor in New York in 1937.

There is a tremendous amount of drinking men cannot afford. Roger Babson holds the restored liquor traffic responsible for much of our present relief load. What was hailed as an economic stimulant, he says, has proved an economic narcotic.

In 1938 in the city of Philadelphia, $82,000,000 were spent for alcoholic beverages; $54,500,000 for relief; and $26,250,000 for schools. In Dayton, Ohio, a committee of the Independent Merchants Association in 1939 reported a per capita expenditure per week on liquor of $1.32; on groceries, $0.95. The first year after repeal national milk consumption slumped 37,000,000 quarts; in the second year 59,000,000 quarts; the third year 69,000,000 quarts. The per capita weekly attendance at moving pictures in 1930, before all manner of gambling schemes were used to stimulate attendance, was 90 per cent of the population. In 1939 with the return of liquor and with all these various gambling schemes it is only 65 per cent.

Professor Irving Fisher told me personally that he had again and again tried to find a reputable economist who would uphold before the national meeting of his fellow economists the thesis that prohibition was an economic loss to this country and he had never been able to find one who would do it. A study has shown that the amount of money needed to employ 100 people in the liquor traffic will employ 200 in housefurnishings; 238 in women's and children's clothing; and 325 in men's clothing; 290 in leather; 312 in textiles; 354 in shoes; and 355 in furniture. No community can afford the liquor traffic on a basis of dollars and cents, leaving all moral problems out.

Increasing degradation of womanhood is another count in the indictment against liquor. Twelve years ago police records of a large American city showed two per cent of the arrests for drunkenness were women; today with more arrests, ten per cent are women. A nationwide study shows a threefold increase in feminine drunkenness.

President Cutten of Colgate University has said: "Everything I am trying to build up as an educationalist, alcoholic drinking tends to tear down." As Christians we must say with Paul, "If drink causes my brother to offend—and how it does do that—then I will take no drink till the heavens fall." That will not be the whole solution. But it must be the beginning of any solution. It is a beginning well within the power of any Christian to enter upon now.

For Time

Unity of the Spirit

Too often in these days when the need of national unity is to the fore the church and labor are seen to be antagonistic. To be sure many working people are members of the church but this is not enough. For Christianity is not a way of life for the individual only; it is also the coming together of individual Christians in an organized movement—the church. And labor is not this and that employee only; it is these employees joined together in an organized movement—in labor unions.

Recently, however, an enterprising Presbyterian minister in Vermont drew together for a significant all-day conference representatives of some six denominations, of as many labor groups, and of several farm organizations to explore how the church and labor may join together in understanding and cooperation. The carpenters' union donated the meeting place; the Vermont Church Council, the Vermont Federation of Labor (A.F. of L.) and the Quarry Workers' International Union (C.I.O.) took care of the mailing and the stationery, while several other unions, church groups, and individuals contributed the other expenses.

The editor of SOCIAL PROGRESS was invited to represent the church on the program. He discovered that all those present were a part of the life of the church. Their togetherness was assumed early in the program and the time was spent in making that togetherness more concrete and mutually helpful. The editor was interested also in discovering that the secretary of the Vermont Federation of Labor is a Presbyterian, having come from Scotland to these shores when a young man, and that the secretary of the Quarry Workers' International Union, the leading C.I.O. union of the state, is likewise a Presbyterian, born and reared in Vermont.

The spirit of fellowship was so real and the worthwhileness of close cooperation so apparent that a Vermont Religion and Labor Fellowship was unanimously voted, entirely voluntary and unofficial. When it came time to set up the executive committee, the secretary of the Vermont Federation of Labor (A.F. of L.) nominated the international secretary of the Quarry Workers' Union, (C.I.O.) as one of labor's representatives; and he in turn nominated the A.F. of L. secretary as another of labor's representatives.

There is a national unity that is imposed from above on an obedient people. But there is a greater national unity of a free people who draw together in understanding, respect, and cooperation. The church can do much in furthering this unity of the spirit in industry and agriculture.

xe These

Conscription In the light of recent events, it is desirable that this country should look to its national defense. It is highly important that the people come to understand the measures that are being proposed for their defense, so that they may determine whether these means are appropriate to the defense of democracy. It is at this point that the proposal for conscription (under debate in the Senate as these words are being written) needs to be most carefully scrutinized. For the identification of national defense with peace-time conscription is confusing and menacing to democracy.

Conscription carries ominous by-products for Christians who feel deeply the historic mission of the church. One of these by-products is secularism. Parents, educators, and clergy have become aware of the secular character of contemporary society, most disturbing ofttimes where the influence of the state as educator is felt. There is a growing appreciation of the private and church related colleges as making a distinct contribution where so much education is under state auspices. In numerous American communities also children are taken over on school time by church and synagogue for religious training. Now the proposal for conscription is being advanced on behalf of much needed character training, discipline and unity! That "universal selective service" will affect our national character is true; but that it will affect it secularly, and not in terms of a Christian democracy is also true. Character training for a Christian democracy must issue out of the home and the church.

Again, conscription makes for the militarization of a people, technically and psychologically. It is no accident that Great Britain and the United States, the two greatest democratic areas of the world, have in the past resorted to conscription only when at war; nor that Hitler in making Germany a great military power made conscription an early decree.

The Christian church is the custodian of the worth of the individual as made in the image of God. "It is the duty of the church of the living God," declared General Assembly last May, "to offer sacrificial protest against any effort on the part of any government to abridge the fundamental rights of man and to make the individual a mere cog in a superstate machine." Statism is the greatest organized menace to human well-being and to true religion in the world today; and conscription when this nation is not at war is the most serious encroachment of the state upon the individual that has ever been proposed to the American people.

Findings of Interfaith Labor Conference

PROTESTANT, Catholic and Jewish leaders participated in the Interfaith Conference on Unemployment convened at Washington, June 4-6, 1940. It agreed that:

"The moral effects of the continued unemployment of nine million or more workers are evident. Enforced idleness demoralizes personality, makes it impossible for families to live normal, healthy lives, and prevents their participation in community life. These conditions must now become the common concern of the nation. The religious bodies must supply the moral dynamic for changing them. Unemployment must not be continually relieved—it must be abolished. . . .

"Solutions cannot be found without individual and social sacrifice. The employed, the fortunate, must identify themselves with the unemployed, and be willing to make sacrifices in order to bring about the abolition of unemployment. . . . The moral will should be expressed effectively in terms of right social relations.

"It is imperative that just social relations be attained. . . . When people are confused and embittered, not knowing where to turn, they seek scapegoats, thus arousing race hatreds. People haunted by insecurity are most likely to become the easy prey of ruthless leaders. . . .

"Whatever may be the needs of national defense, stimulation of industrial activity through the production of arms will not provide a permanent method of abolishing unemployment. . . . Elimination of unemployment requires social thinking of a high order and social collaboration to work out the plans and put them into effect.

"To that end, there should be a continuing commission, composed of representatives of consumers, farmers, labor, finance, manufacturing, commerce, government, education, religion. For enforceable and coordinated action by the organized social forces of the country, governmental leadership is necessary. Government, we strongly recommend, should call these organizations together for devising cooperative, democratic measures to solve the unemployment problem.

"Religious bodies dare not escape their responsibility to educate, with the aid of informed laymen, in regard to the moral and social aspects of such questions as have been here discussed, including: the kind and degree of taxation; the relative emphasis upon voluntary and upon governmental leadership; the role of cooperatives for purchasing, credit, marketing; the possibility of setting up democratic economic planning; the importance of preserving religious and civil liberties."

The Church and Political Tension *

THE hazards of a "campaign year" are dangerous to Christian unity. Political self-interest, with the implication of insincerity, is attributed to men in public life as determining every step they take. The emotional temperature of discussions of public questions rises. Tensions develop; discussion tends to degenerate into argument. Suspicion and resentment threaten to develop into hard feelings.

Now is the time—before statements may seem to refer to particular people—for the churches to determine to maintain good will within their own fellowship and to provide a community leadership in the interest of reasonable discussion, mutual respect, and courtesy.

Most churches include within their membership people affiliated with rival parties. In some communities the constituency of one church is predominantly Republican and that of another Democrat. The churches together, or the ministerial association, can make a salutary and significant contribution to the life of the community by demonstrating a fellowship which is durable in a time of storm and by calling the people of the community to a higher standard.

We submit some suggestions for a code which churches might adopt and to which by joint action they might ask the community to adhere:

1. The welfare of the total community should be the criterion of judgment for every question. Every man should confess to himself those elements of personal self-interest involved in his decisions, but should not excuse himself from responsibility because of the general prevalence of self-interest.

2. Men of equal honor and sincerity disagree in their judgments as to what measures will best serve the welfare of the community. This does not mean that one measure may not be better than another, but that differences of opinion should not lead to condemnation of other men's motives.

3. Reading and thinking should be directed to understanding the truth rather than to justifying our opinions.

4. Religion must not be "used" to discredit our opponents. God is not a member of any political party; indeed he is not an American. He is within issues, but first within the issue of the brotherhood of all mankind.

5. A church fellowship should be big enough for differences, wise enough for free discussion, responsible enough for every member to commit himself according to his best light, and charitable enough to welcome any Christian of good will.

* From the *Federal Council Bulletin*, April 1940.

Brotherhood Prayers

In the name of our Elder Brother, let us daily pray for

September 1

Workers everywhere: O thou, mightiest worker of the universe, grant us the assurance that our labors are not in vain in the Lord.

September 2 (Labor Day)

Those who labor: May our work, be it with hand or head or skill, bind us together in a brotherhood of all men.

September 3

Industrialists: May they be makers of men as well as of goods, training their fellow-workers for larger responsibilities.

September 4

Union officials: Grant patience and prudence, O Lord, and fairness to see the other side; that a worthier day may dawn for those who labor.

September 5

Those on lonely farms: Be near to those in lonely places that amid the providence of thy world they may not lack: nor their fair share be wrested from them by rapacity and greed.

September 6

The unemployed: To those who wait all day in the market-place idle, no man having given them work to do, grant a fair opportunity with a fair reward.

September 7

Night workers: O thou, who givest songs in the night, be with those who labor while we sleep and give them rest.

September 8

Teachers of the young: Grant unto those, into whose hands we commit the dearest that we have, patience, tenderness, wisdom, and understanding.

September 9

Children beginning their school life: To those whose starry-eyed wonder and glad surprise thrills our daily lives, make us warmly responsive.

September 10

Those who fight: For those who give themselves willingly and courageously in battle, help us to speed the day when wars shall cease.

September 11

The insensitive: Stab us wide awake by thy truth and beauty, that we may share all gifts within our keeping as widely as the needs of men.

September 12

Conscientious objectors: O thou, who alone are Lord of the conscience, strengthen those who for conscience's sake refuse to kill.

September 13

The homeless: Be thou the Eternal Home to those who wander foot-loose o'er the world's rough roads, and stir our hearts to compassion.

September 14

Judges of children's courts: Better it were that a millstone should be hung around our necks . . . than that one of these little ones should fall for want of understanding.

September 15

Missionaries: Send the light of thy gospel winging across the world, that we may be one in the fellowship of the Spirit.

September 16:

Those whom we do not see, yet love: O God, who first loved us, may thy love be our guerdon and shield, and in that love may we commend our friends to thee.

September 17:

Mothers of the new-born: Grant to those who watching late in pain, now find joy . . . strength through the helplessness of childhood.

September 18

The mentally ill: Grant unto these the knowledge that thou art a God who "hath not given us the spirit of fear; but of power, and of love, and of a sound mind."

September 19

Those under foreign domination: May they come out of great tribulation, their names writ in the Lamb's book of life.

September 20

Those tempted to despair: Fill with thy healing grace the hearts of the tempted and embittered who have brooded too long on dark and sinful ways.

September 21

Musicians: "For all who have expressed for us the ecstasy, the wonder, the beauty and the travail of life, for all who wash our souls clean in clear, sweet streams of beauty, we thank thee, Lord."*

September 22

Leaders of youth in the church: Give unto these winsomeness, freedom from cant, and warm understanding of the needs and aspirations of youth.

* From "A Face to the Sky" by George Stewart, reviewed on page 25.

September 23

Scientists: May they who seek to ponder mysteries yet unknown, be moved to think thy thoughts after thee.

September 24

Those who believe in the final hope of peace: May their vision of the saving of the peoples, and the healing of the nations be undimmed and their courage unshaken.

September 25

Those entering college: Give those who are the hope of future generations a willingness to learn and a consciousness of their destiny.

September 26

Prostitutes and alcoholics: Create in us, clean hearts, O God, that not by word or deed may we offend those who suffer from men's lust and greed.

September 27

Those weary with well-doing: When our share of hard, dull, monotonous work comes, strengthen us with thy grace and the assurance of thy "well done."

September 28

Those who make our laws: Grant that they may not, in misguided zeal, destroy those safeguards for which our forefathers labored and died.

September 29

Religious cultists: For all who in pious subterfuge make a mockery of the heart-needs of many, grant a sobering sense of their grave mischance.

September 30

Those moving to new homes: Help them to furnish their new homes with welcome for the lonely, food for the hungry, rest for the weary, and an enkindling warmth created by love of thee.

Let us go beyond a mere reading of these prayers to become a fellowship of intercessory prayer, bringing before God these special needs for each day. These prayers have been prepared by Rev. Edwin C. Daniels, Fulton, New York.

About Books

Failure of a Mission, by Sir Nevile Henderson. Putnam's Sons. $3.

This book, one of the most important of the current season, reveals for the first time in dramatic fashion the whole story of the coming of the second world war. Although much has occurred in the European conflict since its last chapter was written, the book will never be out of date for it is essentially autobiographical as well as being an historical document of vast importance.

The greatest value of the work is its first-hand description of much that has hitherto been only rumor. Henderson's tour of duty as British Ambassador to Germany lasted from 1937 to September, 1939. During this time he had intimate contact with such leading Nazi figures as Goering, Hess, Himmler, Ribbentrop, and Goebbels, as well as Hitler himself. Because of his preconceived determination to be friendly to the Nazi regime and to endeavor to understand its philosophy, he was at first warmly received. However, as he objected to certain atrocities committed by the Gestapo both in Germany and in conquered territories, the Nazi officials immediately cooled toward him.

Not of least importance is the portrait which Henderson gives of der Fuehrer himself. While portraying the Chancellor's personal life in the customary terms of his abstinence from tobacco, alcohol, and meat, Henderson also gives us the rarer picture of Hitler, the diplomat. Here we see him as an utterly irrational individual who thunders his demands in the ears of ambassadors and goes into tantrums of rage at the slightest provocation. His principal thesis of political strategy is best represented in his own words which Henderson quotes: "If you wish to obtain your objectives by force, you must be strong; if you wish to obtain them by negotiation, you must be stronger still."

Failure of a Mission minces no words. It is a bitter attack, not only upon the modern German leaders but upon the whole Nazi philosophy, and it is written by one who, having lived in the capital of the country for three years, has had an excellent opportunity to observe both.

THOMAS FRANKLYN HUDSON

Common Sense Neutrality, edited by Paul Comly French. Hastings House. $2.

"We are faced today with the vital problem of preserving peace for America in a world torn by the hatred and bitterness and malice of war." The first sentence of the foreword to this symposium on mobilizing for peace is heavily underscored by the relentless progress of events in Europe as this review is written.

At first this book may seem to be a debate of past issues. Public opinion is swinging sharply behind the President's call upon Congress and the nation-at-large to support staggering appropriations for his defense program and his widespread plans for the organization of the nation's industrial and financial activities on a war basis. Yet perhaps just now is the time when we must force ourselves, if need be, deliberately to face our present economic involvement in the European conflict, the changing temper of the people, the probable consequences of the armament program now under way and of the possible participation of our armed forces. It is Mr. French's belief that the struggle in Europe already has had an effect in our life and that the disruption of our industrial and social structure incident to the possible entrance of the United States into the actual conflict will be with us for years to come as in the case of the last war.

Twenty-five Americans differing in calling and point of view contribute to this symposium. They are one, however, in the conviction that the United States must keep out of foreign wars. Harry Elmer Barnes, historian and columnist, harshly anti-British, says "Keep out at all costs." Dr. Charles A. Beard, historian, urges that we examine very critically all suggestions of our responsibility for participation and especially to watch our foreign policy. Dr. Philip D. Bookstaber declares that the synagogue speaks for peace but not for pacifism. He urges that America's role should be that of educator and mediator for peace.

If this book were remarkable for no other reason it would be significant that a group so widely divergent could find common footing on the demand that, for numberless reasons, the United States must stay out of European conflict. It seems to be their common conviction, as one expresses it, that *America can stay out of war if she wants to and as long as she wants to.*—E. G. R.

Defense for America, edited by William Allen White. Macmillan. $1.

Beside the discussion of neutrality, which says with united voice: "Stay out of this war," we place in contrast this symposium. The contributors are equally honest, wise, and democratic men and women; they speak out of a widely varied experience; their proposals differ in detail; but they too are of one mind. "This is our war," they say because they see a definite threat to our democracy if Great Britain follows France in collapse before the mechanized Nazis. Our immediate responsibility, they believe, is to help Great Britain to the limit of our resources first because they believe Great Britain is fighting our battle and second because to help Great Britain to endure is to lengthen by so much the time of the United States for preparation. Contributors include a minister, a priest, and a rabbi; educators, lawyers, economists, and newsmen. The volume closes with the President's estimate of the situation.

The book is a clear exposition of the position it represents and is worthy of careful reading and thought—no matter what the reader's opinion may be.—E. G. R.

The Church and a Christian Society, by Wade Crawford Barclay. Abingdon Press. $3.50.

This well-balanced and comprehensive book is written on the broad educational principle that wherever life is lived and as long as it is lived, there education takes place. With the more general recognition of this principle, new importance has been given to adult education. The need of methods particularly appropriate to adult learning is evident, aims and objectives are under discussion, and suitable content is widely debated.

One of the most interesting and important aspects of the growing emphasis on learning through living is a new recognition of education not only as the means of individual development but as the means of social change. Of particular significance is the growing acceptance of this point of view in the church and the development of a program of adult education with a decidedly social orientation. To a discussion of the philosophy underlying this concept of Christian education and to the problems implicit in it, Dr. Barclay devotes this book.

There have been many books on method in the adult field, religious and secular, but this is more than a methods text. Within the compass of one volume the author provides a brief but informing historical sketch of the contributions of the church through the centuries to social renewal and to education; an analysis of the factors and needs in today's life which demand a new concept and program of Christian education; a clear discussion of Christian experience through worship,

study, and social participation; and finally an outline of curriculum, program, method, and procedure. Throughout his discussion, Dr. Barclay centers his thought and that of his reader on Jesus. "Without argument," he says, "it is assumed that his ideals alike for the personal life and social relationships of men today as in the first century represent the goal toward which we should strive. Our prevailing social order is brought to the test of his personality, life, and teaching."

The supreme task of the church as the author sees it, is "to translate Jesus' concept of the Kingdom into terms of today's life, to lead its members to understand what it means both in personal living and in collective life and what these meanings demand in social, economic, and political reconstruction."

The minister and every leader in the educational work of the church will find in this book a valuable guide, Christian in philosophy, well balanced in educational theory, and clear in statement of program, method and content.—E. G. R.

I Believe, edited by Clifton Fadiman. Simon and Schuster. $3.75.

Anyone who reads on the jacket of a book "I Believe" and notices at the same time that the book has been edited by Clifton Fadiman, of "Information Please" fame, is bound to pick up that book and look inside. His curiosity will be rewarded by the discovery that *I Believe* is a description of the personal philosophies of twenty-one eminent men and women of our time, together with the restatement of the personal philosophies of seventeen other eminent persons who wrote their credos in the year 1931. Imagine yourself spending an afternoon or evening with such characters as Pearl Buck, Stuart Chase, Julian Huxley, Lin Yutang, Thomas Mann, Jacques Maritain, James Thurber, Hendrik Willem van Loon, Rebecca West, and many others who are fully as noted. Think of yourself as sitting in the presence of people who are doing some of the thinking for the world, and listening to them as they describe what they believe. If you have been brought up in the traditions of reformed theology you will find none of these "believers" who explain God in the language of the Westminster Confession or the Larger and Shorter Catechisms. Nevertheless the majority do believe in a God who cares. Flippancy concerning religious things seems to be beautifully lacking from the statements of these eminent people. Sometimes they take rather violent issue with orthodox ways of thinking and behaving, but one and all believe in love and life and the aspiring spirit of man. It is interesting to follow Stuart Chase, for example, as he describes his "operational philosophy." In brief, he learned it when driving autos for business or pleasure and in similar contacts where man passes his fellow man and learns to have respect for man as he schools himself to show respect for him. Ministers may not pick whole sermons out of this book, but they will surely have their intellects sharpened by comparing notes with other people who are having a wide influence on world thinking. The purpose of the book can best be stated in Clifton Fadiman's editorial introduction:

"These views are not proposed to the reader that he may choose among them. They are not 'helpful' in that sense. How can one put it better than in Havelock Ellis's words: 'The reward of being simple and sincere with what seem the facts of one's universe is that one sheds abroad an influence that may be incalculable. It is worth while.'"

EARL F. ZEIGLER

Trees of Heaven, by Jesse Stuart. E. P. Dutton. $2.50.

The writer of this absorbing story of the Kentucky mountains is young and strong and possessed by the hill country where he was born. This is his first novel but three other books have already come

from his pen; a book of poems, one of short stories, and an autobiography. And this warm homely story breathes the qualities of all three, the imagery and rhythm of poetry; the keen observation, the facile description and the sense of drama of the true story; and the simplicity and directness of the convincing autobiography.

Jesse Stuart writes of people he knows. It is the story of Anse Bushman, strong and unbending at seventy with a passion to own more and more of the land he so deeply loves; and of his neighbor Boliver Tussie, the squatter, a good farmer, if an intemperate one, whose people for generations have lived on the land. They, too, love the land and their dead are buried under "the trees of heaven." But to Boliver Tussie life is to be lived as it comes and the land to be enjoyed without thought of ownership. The love of Tarvin, the son of Anse Bushman, for Boliver's girl, Subrinea, is told with simple directness, beauty, and understanding.

One feels once more with keen reality, as one reads, the beauty of this land of ours and the strength of those who live close to the soil. It is not by chance, it seems to this reviewer, that in this time of stress we are given again and again these reminders of the foundations and resources of the land and the peoples that make America.—E. G. R.

"I Was in Prison," by Charles S. Macfarland. Revell. $1.

This short volume stands within a great tradition of Christian literature. How much that is truly great in Christian writing has been penned within prison walls! One thinks of some of Paul's epistles and of "Grace Abounding" written by John Bunyan.

Dr. Macfarland has gathered together excerpts from letters written by German pastors who have been and perhaps are still in prison. The matter dealt with in these personal letters is not prison life itself so much as it is the inner soul of those in prison. Joy in suffering, trust in the midst of danger, hope shining through weakness—such are the great themes about which these prisoners for Christ's sake are concerned.

Dr. Macfarland includes, in addition, his own letter to Hitler, written in 1932, the statement of the German chaplains issued in 1937, and a concluding chapter that carries suggestions as to what Christians in America can do.—C. P. H.

A Face to the Sky, (a book of prayers) by George Stewart. Association Press. $1.

These are unique prayers for all sorts and conditions of men and occasions. This tireless and practical Christian prays out of the fulness of his own rich life in lyric form and with words of strong simplicity. Here are prayers for our families and our own needs; for friends and enemies; for those who serve us and those for whom we should pray and otherwise serve, but whom we too often neglect; for times and seasons and for the church. Ministers and all other leaders will find this book a source of help and inspiration. —E. G. R.

Books Received

Sons But Not Heirs, Alfred J. Penney. Putnams.

The Coming of the Scot, John H. Finley. Scribners.

Shrine of the Silver Dollar, John L. Spivak. Modern Age Books.

Wild Geese Calling, Stewart Edward White. Doubleday Doran.

If You Don't Weaken, Oscar Ameringer. Henry Holt.

The People Talk, Benjamin Appel. E. P. Dutton.

We Won't Murder, Paul Comly French. Hastings House.

A Federation for Western Europe, W. I. Jennings. Macmillan.

Canada: America's Problem, John MacCormac. Viking Press.

M-Day (Mobilization Day), Donald Edward Keyhoe. E. P. Dutton.

What's Democracy to You? Joseph Gollomb. Macmillan.

Why Europe Fights, Walter Millis. Morrow.

Books mentioned in this issue may be secured from any Presbyterian Book Store.

Facts and Figures

Labor's own opinion as expressed in a recent *Fortune* survey is in a number of ways quite unexpected. In reply to the question: "Which of these people do you feel have been on the whole helpful to labor and which harmful?" Henry Ford tops the well assorted popularity list with Senator Wagner, second and Earl Browder at the foot; John L. Lewis receives the principal blame for the rift in its ranks; and employers are considered mostly fair as to hours, wages, and working conditions but considerably less so in the matter of promotions.

Replies to the question, "Do you regard picketing as a good or bad method of protest?" revealed that members of the two major union groups believe picketing to be desirable, but not by clean majorities, while independent and unorganized workers lack faith in picketing as an effective method of protest. Of the total replies from all labor participants, 55.5 per cent assert picketing has a bad effect.

11.4 per cent of the workers questioned favor formation of a national labor party, while 56.6 per cent believe labor unions should keep out of politics entirely. The attitude of these labor groups toward unions in general showed 59.6 per cent favorable to the principle of unionism, an impressive endorsement in view of the fact that two-thirds of U. S. labor is not organized.

The brewing industry since the repeal of prohibition in 1933 has spent approximately $130,000,000 for advertising. According to the annual economic study of the United Brewers Industrial Foundation, approximately $20,800,000 was the 1939 advertising expenditure. Of this amount daily newspapers carried advertising to the amount of $6,500,000. Beer advertising, the Foundation reports, is carried by 95 per cent of the daily papers.

Christian fellowship in wartime. One of the finest examples of Christian fellowship maintained in spite of sharp differences of personal opinion about the war is the case of a Canadian parish, St. Andrew's United Church, in St. John, New Brunswick. Its minister, Rev. Ward H. McLean, has taken a pacifist position. The congregation, by a unanimous vote, expressed dissent from his view. Mr. McLean then felt compelled to announce his decision to resign. The congregation, however, by another unanimous vote, asked him to remain. While they disagreed with his position, they recognized his freedom as a Christian to adhere to it. The minister gladly withdrew his notice of resignation. The incident is a happy illustration of what the fellowship of the Christian church should be and can be.

Pari-mutuel betting has taken New York by storm, as evidenced by the largest crowds in history attending the race meetings of Jamaica, Aqueduct, and the Belmont race tracks since horse-race betting at the tracks was legalized on April 15, 1940. Despite the big tax returns for the state of New York which lie ahead, Mayor La Guardia and other officials have denounced pari-mutuel bettings which enable the state to get its first ante from gambling. By a strange coincidence Mayor La Guardia laid the cornerstone for the nearly completed $2,325,000 housing project in South Jamaica on the same afternoon that the pari-mutuel system was introduced at the race track but two miles away. At the cornerstone laying ceremonies, the mayor said: "Two public events are taking place in Jamaica: one is in connection with a great housing development and the other is where the state is getting its first ante from gambling. This is progress and that is regression. We are giving something to the people

and they are taking away something the people cannot afford to lose. . . . I don't believe the people should be encouraged to spend money needed for food, clothing and housing. I don't think that gambling is going to be successful in a progressive, enlightened state like New York."

The Irish hospital sweepstakes in liquidation. War conditions have so greatly limited the scope of operations of the Irish Sweepstakes that "Hospitals' Trust, Ltd," the organization promoting the Irish Sweepstakes has been placed in voluntary liquidation. Estimated in round figures, the total receipts for the thirty Sweepstakes conducted since 1930 were £88,533,000. Of this amount, hospitals, public health, and the Red Cross received £14,166,000—approximately one-sixth of the total subscriptions.

A motion picture to interpret the Juvenile Court and probation is now in production. The picture will present the work of the modern Juvenile Court and its relation to the proper care and treatment of young offenders. A one-reel sound motion picture, the film is available in either 16mm or 35mm widths from the National Probation Assoc., 50 West 50th Street, New York.

The church has the answer. Dr. Walter W. VanKirk, in a broadcast from New York summarized his impressions of the General Assembly which met at the precise moment when headlines told the story of the conquest of Holland, the over-running of Belgium and the mad dash of the German army to the Channel ports. The Presbyterian Assembly, Dr. VanKirk declared, displayed a Christian unity in striking contrast to the political disunity existing throughout the world; exalted the place of evangelism in the life and work of their churches; and associated themselves with the National Preaching Mission which will visit scores of cities throughout the United States during the fall and winter months.

These Presbyterians, he continued, reaffirmed their conviction that war is a manifestation of the power of sin in the world and declared religious and political freedom at home and abroad to be the absolute prerequisite of the Christian way of life. "Perhaps no church body in the United States," said he, "has raised so clear a voice regarding the primacy of conscience as the Presbyterians. For them, God alone is Lord of the conscience."

Dr. VanKirk reported also the Assembly's support of "the American doctrine of the separation of church and state," and its opposition to "the unconstitutional relations established between our government and the Vatican by the recent personal appointment of a representative with the rank of ambassador."

Presbyterians, the speaker concluded, sounded the call of advance in foreign missions. They with their Christian brethren of other denominations, he said, are in a map-changing business prepared for, not by armored tanks and the mechanized instruments of war but by the missionaries whose symbol of advance is the Cross.

The Church's attitude to world crisis. At a meeting of the executive committee of the Federal Council held during the summer, the principal discussion centered around the report of the committee of seven on the "Attitude of the Churches in the World Crisis" which said in part:

"In these days when we face a world torn by war . . . it is imperative that, as Christians, so far as possible, we speak with a united and unequivocal voice. . . . We agree that in the outcome of the present conflict moral issues are at stake which as Christians we dare not evade. . . . Government should permit the full freedom of the Christian conscience to bear public witness to the truth as it sees it and to carry on its God-given task of declaring the Christian gospel to the entire world. Another is the attainment of

a world order dedicated to peace and justice and resting upon the consent of mankind. . . . It (the church) must support the right of the conscientious Christian to register his objection to war service; it must equally defend the right of the Christian who, though hating war, feels that it is his duty to engage in a war which he regards as just. Both have their place in the church and their right to its ministry. . . .

"We agree that we must resolutely maintain the bonds of our ecumenical fellowship, in spite of the strains of war, with Christians in all lands. . . . We agree also that we have a similar responsibility to maintain fellowship among Christians of differing views in our own country and to protect the rights of all those who, because of race or any other reason, may be brought under suspicion. . . . Above all we must maintain faith that even though political and economic systems crash to ruin, the moral order of the universe still stands. . . . It is man's failure to conform to God's order, as revealed in Jesus Christ, that has brought the world to its present chaos. Our supreme task, therefore, is to be his witnesses to a world that so largely repudiates the gospel. . . ."

Churches oppose the draft. Dr. William W. McKinney, moderator of Pennsylvania Synod, reports the following as typical of the opposition which a number of our churches are presenting to the Draft Bill.

"We believe that peacetime military conscription in any form is—first, undemocratic; second, would increase war hysteria, and, therefore, lead us into war; third, would not provide necessary safeguard for conscientious objectors; fourth, would disrupt national economy; fifth, would arouse overwhelming dissatisfaction and opposition when the nation awakens to the meaning of peacetime military conscription."

In many places ministers and churches are suggesting that their members write to their Congressmen and Senators expressing their individual convictions.

Day of prayer for peace. Sunday, Sept. 8 has been officially designated by President Roosevelt as a nation-wide day of prayer. In his proclamation he requests that the people of the United States on that day gather in their respective churches to beseech Almighty God to hasten the establishment of a righteous peace among the warring nations.

CBS School of the Air. Matching the federal government's zeal in cementing this country's relations with its Latin neighbors, Columbia's "American School of the Air" is drawing heavily on nations south of the Rio Grande for broadcast material. Canada similarly is being explored for the 1940-41 educational program series. More than 15,000,000 school children will listen to these broadcasts during the next semester. Some of the programs included in this educational series are: "America at Work," heard on Mondays. The Tuesday period has been named "Wellsprings of Music." Wednesday's series on geography, history, and science will use "The Waters of Life" as its 1940-41 theme. Latin-America is represented on Thursday's literature series, "Tales from Far and Near." Current public issues are to be enacted with a background of Pan American relations as a feature of the Friday "This Living World" broadcasts.

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Current Films

These estimates of current films are offered in response to the action of the General Assembly, 1932, requesting such a previewing service to be made available from the Department of Social Education and Action. The following evaluations are based on reports of ten groups of national organizations judging pictures in Hollywood.

All This and Heaven Too (Warner Brothers). (Cast: Bette Davis, Charles Boyer, Jeffrey Lynn, Barbara O'Neill.) Impressive screening of Rachel Field's popular novel produced with signal technical excellence and superior direction. The tragic story is of a noble French family, a father, mother, and four quaint children, and the lovable English governess who tries to bring some measure of sanity and happiness into a home wrecked by an insanely jealous wife and mother. Bette Davis gives one of the best characterizations of her notable career and Charles Boyer is superb as the tortured husband and father. The children seem perfectly chosen for their roles and give memorable performances. Barbara O'Neill, as the wife, and the entire supporting cast, are excellent. The beautiful settings of the period, 1846, have been faithfully reproduced. **Adults.**

Anne of Windy Poplars (RKO-Radio). From the novel by L. M. Montgomery. (Cast: Anne Shirley, James Ellison, Henry Travers, Patric Knowles, Slim Summerville.) Quaint, picturesque settings and adherence in every detail to the spirit of the period in which the story is laid lend charm to the unaffected story. Anne of Green Gables is grown and moves to a small community to accept the position of vice-principal of the school. The powerful Pringle family, who control everything and everyone, resent her at first, but all ends happily. The climax is a bit of old-fashioned melodrama, but in keeping with the story. The eavesdropping of Slim Summerville adds comedy. **Family.**

Four Sons (20th Fox). (Cast: Don Ameche, Eugenie Leontovich, Mary Beth Hughes, Alan Curtis.) Powerfully produced war tragedy with high dramatic values. A timely, well-directed, splendidly acted story of how the Nazi system invaded Czechoslovakia, and its effect on the people, exemplified by one family—a mother and her four sons. Eugenie Leontovich, brilliant stage actress, proves her expert ability in the role of the mother. It shows the furtive manner of the Fifth Column, the enmity aroused between brothers, the death and destruction of war, the misery in its wake, and the regimentation of little children for future soldiers. Understanding direction of an excellent cast results in a most realistic presentation. **Adults.**

The Mortal Storm (M-G-M). From the book by Phyllis Bottome. (Cast: Margaret Sullavan, James Stewart, Robert Young, Frank Morgan, Robert Stack.) A gripping, dramatic story of the heartbreaks brought about by the early phases of the Hitler regime. It stresses the persecutions of the non-Aryan and of all those who oppose the will of the dictator. The large and notable cast seem perfectly chosen and their performances rise to impressive heights. The photography is excellent and the symbolism profound. The story has its setting in a small German town, in the mountains near the Austrian border, and concerns the intimate and tragic experiences of a large family, divided by the issues thrust upon them. **Adults.**

New Moon (M-G-M). (Cast: Jeannette MacDonald, Nelson Eddy.) Lavish mounting and high production values embellish this musical comedy with its familiar tunes and action-filled plot, somewhat changed from the original stage production. Jeannette MacDonald, as the heiress of a large Louisiana plantation, and Nelson Eddy, as the virile, charming French duke turned bondsman, dominate the entire production and bring back the memory of lovely Romberg ballads. Scenes of the new colony founded by the French rebels and a shipload of brides are intriguing. Romance between a French nobleman disguised as a bondsman and a belle of New Orleans is complicated by the fact that the hero is a fugitive because of his revolutionary activity. **Family.**

Tom Brown's School Days (RKO). (Cast: Sir Cedric Hardwicke, Freddie Bartholomew, Jimmy Lydon, Josephine Hutchinson.) A notable screening of the favorite old classic, satisfying to the memories of the book and pleasantly recreating the atmosphere of old England. It has a bit of the flavor of "Mr. Chips," but this is the story of the boy student, not of the man teacher, yet it is quite as English. Its theme and timeliness are set forth in one sentence: "Every school, town and nation has its bully, but the meek will eventually rise up and defeat him." The excellent cast lend dignity and sincerity. This is a picture of high entertainment value, of social significance and technical excellence. Certain incidents in the film will affect the adolescent in different ways. **Family.**

Sandy Is a Lady (Univ.). (Cast: Baby Sandy, Mischa Auer, Nan Grey, Tom Brown, Eugene Pallette.) An amusing story showing how the charms of a captivating baby accomplish results where the scheming of her elders fails. Sequences of the venturesome toddler in traffic and on high girders are nerve-wracking. Good musical scoring. **Family.**

We the Readers

(Communications of not more than 200 words are invited from our readers)

How Does God Speak?

EDITOR SOCIAL PROGRESS: Your recent issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS carried a brilliant symposium on the theme "God alone is Lord of the conscience."

It failed however to make the matter clear at the two points where it puzzles the average pastor. First, how can we tell that it is the voice of God speaking in our consciences? Second, how can we know that we have interpreted his voice correctly?

Historically there have been three answers to these questions. Episcopacy has claimed that there is validity if not infallibility in the counsels of the hierarchy, and we do well to hear and to heed its advice when in doubt. Independency has said that the private judgment of the individual must take precedence over that of any other individual or organization in hearing and interpreting the will of God. Presbyterianism advises us to consult our brethren in the Lord before we make a fool of ourselves.

The key to the Presbyterian system is in the fourth question in our ordination vows. "Do you promise subjection to your brethren in the Lord?" The presbytery is the bishop of the Presbyterian pastor. The doctrine of the parity of the ministry, is fundamental in our church. If we have any doubt about the message that is coming to us we can easily check up with our brethren and see if the Lord is saying the same things to them.

As Presbyterians we have definite methods of discovering if it is the voice of God speaking to us, and of checking to see if our interpretation is correct, so that when we obey the voice of God speaking in the conscience, we act not of our own will but with the confirmation of our brethren in the Lord, and we hope with the approval of God.

FREDERICK KIRKER.

Odell Avenue Presbyterian Church
Marshall, Missouri

Conscience or Moral Judgment?

EDITOR SOCIAL PROGRESS: I have just read with interest the excellent and timely Symposium on Conscience in the June number.

Much confusion is avoided by distinguishing between conscience and moral judgments. Conscience is that activity of the human spirit by which we distinguish between right and wrong, and recognize the imperative character of right.

Saul of Tarsus fought Jesus as an enemy of the law. But when he recognized the divine character of Jesus, he became Paul the Apostle a devoted servant of Christ. The same conscience which drove him to persecute now inspired his worship and service.

Our moral judgments depend on knowledge and the sacred Scriptures afford the enlightenment on which Christian moral judgments are based.

The same divine authority who created the human conscience speaks in the inspired Word, and no human dictator may rightfully come between man and God.

Rights of conscience as here defined have been recognized by enlightened governments. That recognition has been won on the battle fields of the centuries and will be defended no matter what the cost or civilization will collapse.

H. A. NOYES

Presbyterian Church
Walla Walla, Washington

The Church Speaks on Social Issues

A Discussion Guide

Widespread study of the report of General Assembly's Standing Committee on Social Education and Action, 1940, is urged in order that the ideals, principles, and policies which it enunciates may find appropriate expression in the life of the church and its people. To facilitate such study, suggestions for group discussion are here offered. These conform to the outline of the Standing Committee Report:

I. The Work of the Department with Recommendations.

II. Pronouncements of the General Assembly with Reference to:

1. The Church and Democracy
2. The Church and Peace
3. The Church and the Community
4. Recommendations

III. Further Pronouncements of Assembly on Social Issues.

The *Report* should be in the hands of the chairman and others who have leadership responsibility in the group. Copies may be obtained free on request.*

Discussion Outline

I. *The Work of the Department and Recommendations*

This section will be of interest to those concerned with the way in which the Church does its work in the area of social concern. It may be used by the leader in sketching a background for the discussion to follow.

II. *Pronouncements of the General Assembly*

1. The Church and Democracy

A general presentation of this entire section with a blackboard outline should precede discussion of the four aspects of the subject dealt with in the report.

The Church, the State, and the Individual

Get a copy of the Constitution of the United States and read and discuss the Bill of Rights in the light of the Christian concept of man's worth.

List and discuss infringements of civil liberties or other rights—religious, social or civil—permitted or threatened in this country. How can your church help to maintain these rights through local government, schools, and churches?

Consider in this connection Assembly's action with reference to the Vatican appointment. (See "Further Pronouncements," Section III of *Report.**)

Church, Democracy and Economics

Discuss frankly and fully the General Assembly's strong condemnation of the extreme inequalities of our economic system. Note the specific problems cited.

Consider the unemployment problem in the light of the Interfaith Conference addresses and findings on pages *4* to *7*, and page *18* of this issue.

How best can our church help its members, as Assembly suggests, to give honest consideration to necessary economic and political measures? See "Christianity and Democracy," a discussion guide. (25 cents) *

The Church and Minorities

(a) *Racial and cultural minorities.* Does your group share the General Assembly's expressed conviction of the worth of these minority groups as equal to the majority? Discuss the Christian principles underlying this declaration.

What minority groups are represented in your community? Are any of these in

* Order from any Presbyterian Book Store.

special danger because of "war prejudice?" What is your church doing about it? What should it do?

(b) *Minorities of Opinion and Conscience.* The General Assembly reaffirms the principle that "God alone is Lord of the conscience" ("the time honored Protestant principle of freedom of conscience"); and declares that "the Church must oppose all who bind a man's conscience to any lesser Lord and Master."

Discuss thoroughly the actions of former Assemblies as cited in the report and the provisions made by this Assembly on behalf of conscientious objectors to war. List and discuss other minorities of opinion and conscience.

Determine the attitude your church and its members will take toward the whole problem of freedom of conscience, the defense of legitimate rights of minority groups, and the preservation of the Christian fellowship of your own church.

2. The Church and Peace

In the face of the catastrophic changes in the world the General Assembly strongly exhorts ministers and people to sanity, self-control, courage, and sacrificial service.

Discuss these six admonitions as a guide to Christian conduct in time of stress. They may be presented in a series of sermons by the minister; used as six topics in a symposium or as the basis of informal discussion by a small intimate group.

Assembly actions on the Pittsburgh Memorial, on aid to oppressor nations, and on the revision of Chapter XXIII of the Confession (see "Further Pronouncements," Section III of the *Report*) may be included in this discussion. Whatever the plan its purpose must be to point Christians to their responsibility as the custodians of the spiritual values of our democracy.

3. The Church and the Community

The final section calls attention sharply to the age old liquor traffic and to crime as two of the most destructive forces which threaten every community. Each study group should take the measure of its own community, in relation to:

The Liquor Traffic

Investigate the activity of the "traffic" in your community and adjacent districts as to liquor stores, bars and other outlets for liquor; the proprietors or operators; sources of their capital; their legal record; entertainment and other inducements to patrons; sale of liquor to minors; the adequacy and enforcement of legal regulations.

Outline a program of community education and action, social and legislative, in which your church would participate.

Crime and Delinquency

Communities vary widely in this area but these conditions are found in favored neighborhoods as well as in the slum areas. Note the correlation between crime and broken homes, liquor, gambling, and bad associations.

Organize a small group to study more thoroughly this problem using the discussion guide "Your Church in Your Community." (25 cents) *

4. Recommendations

The study may conclude with a discussion of the three final recommendations to the churches with which the report closes. Suggestions for further study and definite action as recommended should be a part of this discussion. If the interest and concern generated through these studies is to be conserved it must be set to work. The local community is a good place to begin.

Index Social Progress

(Book Reviews)

Vol. XXX June 1939 to June 1940

(continued from June issue)

		PAGE
Again the River, Morgan	Apr.	26
All in the Days Work, Tarbell	Oct.	28
America in Midpassage, Beard	Sep.	23
American Faith, Bates	May	21
And Ye Visited Me, Dicks	Oct.	24
Answer, The, Lewisohn	Jan.	27
Art of Conducting Public Worship, Palmer	Nov.	26
Bible Economy of Plenty, Root	Mar.	26
Brave and the Blind, Blankfort	*Jun.	27
Christian Attitudes to War and Peace, Scott-Craig	Dec.	23
Christianity and Creative Quests, Atkins	May	22
Church and the Christian, Mathews	Sep.	25
Christ in Concrete, di Donato	Nov.	25
Christian Alternative to World Chaos, Shafer	Apr.	22
Christian Challenge to Christians, Ingram	Jan.	25
Church and the Political Problem of Our Day, Barth	Dec.	25
Civilisation the Next Step, Burns	Mar.	25
Clue to History, MacMurray	Jun.	24
Come Spring, Williams	*Jun.	30
Compend of Institutes of Christian Religion—Calvin	Jan.	26
Complete Bible, Smith-Goodspeed	Nov.	26
Crime and Society, Cantor	Jan.	27
Days of Our Years, van Passen	Sep.	24
Democracy Today and Tomorrow, Benes	May	24
Desert Democracy, Smith	Apr.	23
Design for Recovery, Marvin and Williams	Feb.	27
Designs in Scarlet, Cooper	Nov.	23
Education for Democracy-Proceedings	Jan.	28
End of Economic Man, Drucker	Mar.	27
Essential Christianity, Angus	Dec.	26
Evangel of a New World, Day	*Jun.	29
Factories in the Field, MacWilliams	Apr.	22
First Five Centuries of the Church, Moffatt	Mar.	28
Flowering of Mysticism, Jones	Apr.	24
Free Men, Hough	Oct.	23
Guide to Understanding the Bible, Fosdick	Oct.	24
Here Comes a Candle, Jameson	Sep.	25
History and the Gospel, Dodd	Jun.	25
How Green Was My Valley, Llewellyn	*Jun.	30
Idea of a Christian Society, Eliot	Feb.	26
I Have Seen God Do It, Eddy	*Jun.	28
Is It Right or Wrong?, Harmon	Nov.	23
It Is Later Than You Think, Lerner	Nov.	24
Jesus and His Church, Flew	Jun.	24
John J. Eagan—Memoir, Speer	Mar.	25
John Wesley, McConnell	Jan.	25
Let Me Think, Overstreet	Jun.	26
Living the Christian Faith, Aubrey	Jan.	26
Love, Marriage and Parenthood, Overton	*Jun.	29
Making the Bible Live, Chamberlin	Feb.	25
Mr. Valiant-for-Truth, Robinson	Dec.	24
Nazarene, Asch	Dec.	25
Native Son, Wright	May	21
New Western Front, Chase	Dec.	25
Next to Valour, Jennings	Oct.	24
New World Order, Wells	*Jun.	27
Non-Violence in an Aggressive World, Muste	*Jun.	26
Parole with Honor, LaRoe	Dec.	24
Patriot, Buck	Sep.	25
Peace in Our Time, Warburg	*Jun.	27
Prospects of American Democracy, Counts	Sep	23
Reaching for the Stars, Waln	Jun.	24
Religious Resources for Personal Living and Social Action, Page	Nov.	25
Right and Wrong, King	Sep.	24
Sacrament of Reunion, Richardson	May	22
Security, Can We Retrieve It?, Salter	May	23
Seven Lean Years, Woofter and Winston	Oct.	25
Sister of the Angels, Goudge	Apr.	25
Social Religion, Macintosh	Feb.	25
Sun and Storm, Seppanen	Apr.	24
Teacher and His Times, Brown	May	25
This Nation Under God, Holt	Feb.	28
Trail of the Totalitarian, Elliott	Oct.	25
Union Now, Street	Jun.	23
United States and War, Johnsen	Oct.	26
Way Out of War, Saerchinger	*Jun.	27
Which Way America?, Bryson	Nov.	24
When Christianity Was New, Speer	Feb.	26
Why Be Good?, Reid	Nov.	23
Wickford Point, Marquand	Sep.	26
Winds of Spring, Havinghurst	*Jun.	30
Wine of Good Hope, Rame	Sep.	26
Your City, Thorndike	Jun.	26
Your Community, Colcord	Oct.	25

* June 1940.

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